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you are surely forgetting the battle-axe, leaving it here; look here is yours. And he gives them the shoulder of the goat; they take this along with them. 584

In the same way the father of the bride and their party also go and give the bridegroom the sign of betrothal.

e. Handing over the money.

The marriage-broker goes and comes. The bridegroom's father says to him: Do find out what the friends have in mind and bring us word. He goes, and on returning he says: They have said yes. The father of the bridegroom then calls the village headman and his deputy, the Jog Mąńjhi and two-three of the village people together and gives them beer. The village headman then asks him: What beer is this? The father of the bridegroom says: This, Sir Headman, is marriage-broker beer; my intention is that we should hand over the money[12]. They finish the beer.

They then tie knots on a string, for five days or seven days. The marriage-broker takes the knot-string to the people of the bride's side. If these think the day too near, they want a longer time, and what they say will be done.

When the fixed day comes, the bridegroom's father calls the village headman and his deputy, the Jog Mąńjhi and the Godet and says: The day for handing over the money has come, come along, we shall go as the bridegroom's party. Then these people say: There are small and big people in the village; let us first call and bring them. Then they send the Godet to call them together. They come and ask the bridegroom's father: Look here, Sir, will there be enough oil and turmeric or not? He answers: There will be enough. Now they make the village priest and his wife sit down beside each other on a mat, and the anointing girls[13] anoint them with oil and turmeric. Thereupon they anoint the village headman and his wife, after them the Paranik, the Jog Mąńjhi, the Jog Paranik and the Godet together with their respective wives. After this the parents of the bridegroom sit down on sheaves of thatching-grass and are anointed. Thereupon all the women of the village, big and small. Now the Jog Mąńjhi says: Please, bring the bridegroom, we shall anoint him. The bridegroom's mother then says: There is no conductor[14] of ceremonies. If the young man has no elder sister, then his elder brother's wife or even a (younger) sister will do for this. Again, they say, there is no follower[15] of the bridegroom, where shall we get such a one? Then they say: There is the son of his father's younger brother; he is younger than the bridegroom: we shall make him be the bridegroom's follower. If [605]

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[12] The payment of money is intended to be a proof of legal possession. [13] The anointing girls are — as both elder — three spinsters whose work is to anoint the bridal pair and others with oil and turmeric at the preliminary and the actual marriage operations. [14] The ąkkarią, lit. the one who leads round, has always to be a near female relative of the bridegroom. [15] The follower (łumtil), also called the "best-man", is always a real or, if none such is available, an imaginary younger cousin of the bridegroom. [585] [605]

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584 there are no cousins (sons of father's brothers), a son of some other man will do, provided he stands in the relationship of cousin.

[605] Now they bring a loṭa which they hand to the wife of the bridegroom's elder brother and say to her: Please, take the bridegroom round. The anointing girls take the mat in their arms, and the wife of the bridegroom's elder brother guides them, and having taken the loṭa with water she pours out a little round about. They go round three times; thereupon the anointing girls spread out the mat, and the bridegroom, his follower and the conductor of ceremonies sit down on this.

The Jog Mañjhi then says: Please say to the bridegroom's mother that she may come. She comes; now they have oil and turmeric in a leaf-cup, and they say to the Jog Mañjhi: Tell the bridegroom's mother that she should smear some oil and turmeric on the cheek of her son. When she has done this, the Jog Mañjhi says to the anointing girls: Now his mother has prepared the way, please, anoint the bridegroom. They do this; and the marriage-broker says to them: Make yourselves ready, it is becoming night; come along. They are now on the point of starting.

They then ask the marriage-broker: Will you take us along the highroad or along a path? He says: I shall take us along the highroad. They take with them two rupees and a brass-necklet, further a kettle-drum and a Ram's horn[16]; drumming and blowing the horn they go on. When they reach the village, they stop at the end of the village street. The marriage-broker goes in advance to the bride's home and says to them: See, we have come, please meet us with water, and show us where you are putting us up. Now some people in the village may have an empty house[17], and they say to the Jog Mañjhi: Do go and find out and bring us word. He finds such a place; and carrying a loṭa with water on a leaf-plate on the palm of his hand turned upwards he goes to the bridegroom's party and says to them: Come along, you of the bridegroom's party[18], I shall take us to the lodgings. Then they go there. The bridegroom's party say to the Jog Mañjhi and the Godet: Please, get us firewood and leaves, two earthenware cooking pots for the rice, one earthenware small vessel, some wooden spoons and ladles, and show us where we can get water; where shall we find it when it is night? And also get us a flat basket, please, to pour the cooked rice out in. They bring them all this.

Thereupon the bridegroom's party pour out the fatigue removing beer; they give the Jog Mañjhi and his companion and also drink themselves. The Jog Mañjhi and his companion then say to them: Do prepare your food, and when we get ready we shall call you.

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[16] See Santal Dictionary s. v. Hindi Rāmsingā. [17] i. e., where there is nothing that the presence of strangers might contaminate. [18] It might be noted that the word, here and elsewhere, translated "bridegroom's party" stands for those who represent the family and especially the village community of the bridegroom. The word (baṛiṭko) is of Aryan origin, which may be of some significance.

[609] [192] [602]

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rinse his eyes and pour a little water on his mouth. Thereupon the carriers lift him (the dead one) up and carry him three times round the pyre; when they have done this, they lift him up on the pyre; they put him down with his head towards the South. 764

The clothes of his body, necklaces, and loin-string they loose, rings, ear-rings, all of his they take off, the things sent with him they remove from him, and they cover his private parts with a branch, and they put down on him four pieces of wood, one on his breast, one on his stomach, one on his waist, and one on his feet; this they call covering wood.

The village men stand round the pyre. Any one whose wife is enceinte, stands some distance away. Now the ojha exorcises them, waving the fowl mentioned three times round them; thereupon he nails the fowl to the pyre corner-post, and he cuts the bedstead and comes away from it. Thereupon the heir breaks off a sedge-culm and, uncoiling some threads of the fringes of the cloth of the dead one, he twists this round the sedge. Having kindled this he sets fire to the mouth of the dead one, while looking away to another side. This they call ag mukh[1]. [843]

Thereupon all the brothers and cousins first throw each one branch of firewood on the dead one; after them all the village men. Then they recite: Here then, we have all of us given thee one branch of firewood; do not keep us long, go like the wind. Thereupon they set fire to it round about. Thereupon they sit down together at a distance. Here one man shaves them. They are all shaved, and at the same time the dead one is cremated and finished. Now they quench the fire by pouring water on. When this is done, the heir rinses the bones with water and pours turmeric water and milk on them, and he puts them into an earthenware vessel. As we nowadays live very far away from the Damuda river, they put only the skull and collar bones, three pieces, into a small earthenware vessel. On this small vessel they place a potsherd, and in the middle of this there is a hole for the dead one to breathe; and into this hole they insert a crab-straw; on this the dead one wanders out and in. Round it they close it up by smearing on turmeric. The other bones, the ashes, and the charcoal they push out into the water of the river and immerse it there. When they pick up the bones, they sing[2]: [593] [605] [539]

Above the funeral pyre
The vulture is sweeping round;
My father's bones
Pick out for me.

Here, take it, vulture,
The gold in the ear.
My father's bones
Pick out for me.

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[1] Ag means fire, mukh means mouth, both Hindi words. [2] In a corrupt form of Bihari.

[2] Cole Dic. Man. – Bedding.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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to a clean house washed spick and span which the Joghmanjhi of the village has made ready. On its threshold stands a young and graceful maiden with a lighted taper in her hand awaiting their approach all alert and she stands there for an hour after the pair come in. She is generally the younger sister of the bride, in absence of whom her cousin does this function. Here the carriers drop their burdens and after salutation the same cleaning and washing of feet is undergone when they are again taken up and deposited at the next house and this goes on through the whole village. 585 [593] [605]

It is well nigh midnight before all these preliminaries are settled. The bridegroom's father takes with him food for the bariatko who in the meantime have their fill. Then if there be excess of money all the villagers get a share of it. This payment is given on their leaf-plates. In the feast the outcaste serve salt, which is the most important function in the ceremony. After the feast an old Parganait says "From today we have taken them into our society again, all pollution has been washed away. We shall take food in their houses, we shall give them our daughters in marriage and also take their daughters for our sons, etc". Thereupon they dig a small hole in the earth in which they bury a lump of cowdung and put a stone on top, thereby symbolizing that the matter is buried for ever. Thus the man and woman become Santals again. The wedding party then adjourns to the house of the bride. The bride then is put into a basket and her male relations lift her up and the bridegroom is raised upon the shoulder of her eldest brother; thus he meets her and applies vermilion on her forehead five times with [593]